

# Munger Africana Library Notes



AFRICA: ONE HUNDRED QUOTATIONS  
FROM THE SUB-SAHARA

Edited by Sue McCloud

APRIL 1984



# Munger **Africana** **Library Notes**

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THREE DOLLARS

AFRICA: ONE HUNDRED QUOTATIONS  
FROM THE SUB-SAHARA

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Cover: Map of Africa with country size  
in proportion to the population.

Map by Derek Lillie.



## AFRICA:

James Callaghan, former British Prime Minister, 1983.

"There seem to be a number of Christopher Columbuses setting out from the United States to discover Africa for the first time. It's been there a long time."

Ernest Hemingway, -- on the danger of big game hunting in Africa --

"Better one day as a lion than a hundred years as a lamb."

Mary McCleod Bethune, 1955.

"The drums of Africa still beat in my heart. They will not let me rest while there is a single Negro boy or girl without a chance to prove his worth."

Helen Kitchen, Sunday Times, SA, 1983.

"The problem with boxing and labeling African states as good guys and bad guys, as both the US and the Soviet Union should have learned from their respective experiences in the relatively short time they have been involved in the political affairs of the continent, is that the kinds of boxes and labels devised in either Washington or Moscow tend to disintegrate in the African sun."

Orson Welles, on Isak Dineson/Karen Blixen - author of Out of Africa, Munger Africana Notes 70, Oct 1983.

"I haven't envied many men but there is almost nothing I wouldn't give to have spent one of those evenings on her farm at the foot of the Ngong Hills. She would, she tells us, have been sitting cross-legged -- Scheherezade herself, telling her long tale from where it began to where it ended."

## DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES:

Professor Peter Grobbelaar, University of Stellenbosch, reported in Beeld, South Africa.

"Altogether 50% of all legends, folk songs and poems in Afrikaans come from the coloured people."

Venance Chaka, Himo farmer, Tanzania, 1984.

"Africans are just like Europeans or Asians. They want to live better, and they don't really care which system provides the better life."

Elliot Berg, African Strategy Review Group for a 1981 World Bank report.

"No continent or region is going to modernize itself and develop its resources unless it begins with agriculture."

Ferdinand Nzohabonayo, speaker - Caltech, Pasadena, CA, Feb 6, 1984.

"When you are poor in Burundi, you do not make long range plans; but you listen to your stomach."

Mrs. Debs Mabiletsa, director of the Urban Foundation, SA, 1983.

"The right to buy our humble homes at reasonable prices (is) beginning to make us feel we also belong."

Jorge Coelho, "Ports of Mozambique" by Lorna Anderson, - New York Times, Oct 14, 1980.

"We are reasonably efficient, and with the equipment, with lines of credit, new fork lifts, new locomotives, we will solve our problems."

Jason Clay, Research Director for Cultural Survival - a nonprofit human rights organization in Boston, LA Herald Examiner.

"Sudan is in dire economic straits and is dependent on foreign loans. Saudi Arabia has fueled the return to traditional Islamic law because it made clear that it will only continue to give support on the condition that Sudan impose strict adherence to the Koran. The government of Sudan as well as those of other countries in the Middle East are all afraid that Iran will export its revolution. They are afraid that the whole region could go up in flames. This is why there is an attempt by central governments to crack down on dissidence, whatever that dissidence may be."

Ian Smiley, British journalist in Atlantic Monthly.

"The years of freedom have mounted up, mocking the plausibility of the excuses for failure. Africa is back where it was 50 years ago."

Nigerian film-maker, Time, Jan 16, 1984.

"We build palaces but can't run them, we import cars we can't repair, we are attracted by everything that glitters. We are slaves to another culture."

Chester Crocker, U.S. Asst. Secretary of State for African Affairs, 1984.

"There are signs on the economic front of agonizing reappraisal. There is a climate of realism that wasn't there five years ago. We should try to help those who are doing the most to help themselves, to create some success stories."

Mr. Steve Worth, Agricor, Bophuthatswana, Star, SA, Dec 8, 1983.

"Having proved we could feed ourselves we have been returning to the concept of community development as being a prime objective of our efforts....Our objective has become the establishment of sound rural communities which offer a life comparable with that in urban areas....In this way we're using agriculture as a vehicle for community development and to further develop our resources."

Joshula Raboroko, Sowetan, SA, Dec 21, 1983.

"For years black miners did not have a voice regarding their wages and working conditions. And because of recent legislation, black mineworkers can now join unions....In the past reports of miners' deaths in rockfalls or gas explosions went virtually unquestioned."

Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) Rand Daily Mail, SA, Dec 12, 1983.

"'But I am not bitter,' who adds that he was interrogated for four months solid in 1974. 'I feel sorry for the people who did that to me. They won't ever stop the tide of black people fighting for their rights.'"

Dr. Kenneth Majer, President of Consulting Group, Rand Daily Mail, SA, Dec 29, 1983.

"'We've learned there is nothing apolitical in South Africa....There is going to be a shortage of trained people in this country,' he says, 'South Africa is running out of whites.'"

Tanzanian academic, Time, Jan 16, 1984.

"We are undergoing a second colonialization. Our present leaders are just like the old tribal chiefs who signed pacts with colonizers for a few beads. Friendship and military pacts are now penciled up in return for guns, aid or cash loans. Africa is up for grabs."

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe, LA Times, Dec 25, 1983.

"We are not on sale and will never be on sale to the highest bidder. We treasure our sovereignty and independence, so much so that we would rather be without a single cent from any source if securing aid meant selling or compromising our sovereignty."

British official, Time, Jan 16, 1984.

"We have to recognize that the constitutions we bequeathed to our former African colonies don't work in some places. It is not a mortal sin for these countries to adapt them to their own particular circumstances. When one looks at the reality, it is remarkable that Africa is as stable as it is."

Edem Kodojo, former Secretary-General of the OAU, 1984.

"Our ancient continent is now on the brink of disaster, hurtling towards the abyss of confrontation, caught in the grip of violence. Gone are the smiles, the joys of life."

Shiva Naipual, Trinidadian Author, Time, Jan 16, 1984.

"The tribal world was real. The new world, lacking definition and solidity, fades away into the dimmer reaches of fantasy. The greed of my shoeshine boy did not ... recognize any limits. He had lost touch with reality."

## AFRICAN GOVERNMENT:

Jeffrey Freymueller, Oct 1983.

"The British made several major mistakes in Uganda. They left the most difficult problems for the new government to solve. They provided Uganda with a government that was of a type not seen before in Uganda, and weakened it by leaving Buganda as a semi-autonomous kingdom within the borders of Uganda. They worsened some of the ethnic rivalries, and didn't provide Ugandans with the institutions necessary for the smooth operation of a state. These mistakes were enough to overcome the advantages Uganda had at independence, and were responsible, directly or indirectly, for most of the problems Uganda suffered after independence."

David Lamb, Africa, NY: Random House, 1982.

"You cannot buy the allegiance of an African government -- you can only rent it for a day."

Nigerian Guardian, 1983.

"If the elections prove anything, it is that our institutions are fragile and will continue to be so for as long as we regard them as structures to be cynically manipulated."

President Shehu Shagari, Nigeria, 1983.

"Nigerians adore rather than abhor corruption."

Leopold Senghor, former President of Senegal, 1984.

"One should not look at the problem in racial terms and say, 'Well, naturally, they are blacks.' Let us take South America. The majority of the population is white, and yet South America, be it politically or economically, is hardly more advanced than we are. There are dictatorships in South America, and the prisons are full."

President Julius Nyerere, Uganda, in the 1967 Arusha Declaration.

"In our country, work shall be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness, and idleness should be things to be ashamed of.... It is necessary for us to be on guard against internal stooges who could be used by external enemies who aim to destroy us."

## LEADERS IN AFRICA:

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Nigeria, Voice of Wisdom, Akure: Fagamigbe Publishers, 1981.

"To avoid rebellion of the belly we must lift the farmers from the prevailing morass of social degradation and economic miseries."

Joan Bingham - The Star Review, Saturday, Dec 10, 1983.

"We (the US) should listen to Buthelezi -- a lot of black South Africans do."



Larry Diamond, Africa Report Nov.-Dec. 1983 p. 19.

"Nigerian voters, especially in the north, found appealing the calm, patient, soft-spoken, and tolerant image Shehu Shagari projected. Simple folks liked his quiet dignity, while many sophisticated voters saw his tolerance as an essential ingredient of stability in a country of such deep and complex ethnic divisions. Because of his personal manner and perceived integrity, Shagari is significantly more popular than his party."

Russ Hoyle, Time, Jan 16, 1984.

"Considering how closely the Ivory Coast's fortunes have been tied to Houphouët-Boigny's personal leadership, his failure to appoint a successor has raised questions about the durability of the country's well-being. Most citizens believe that, as a Western resident put it, he 'has institutionalized a way of conducting government and business' that will outlive him. Nonetheless, Houphouët-Boigny's subtle blend of entrepreneurial acumen and autocratic benevolence may prove difficult to replace."

#### CRIME:

Ken Flood, former Tanzanian police chief, Time Jan 16, 1984.

"Africa has always attracted con men and carpetbaggers. But they were almost always whites from Europe. Now the blacks themselves have learned the game."

(cartoon), Time Jan 16, 1984.

...soldier talking to a village woman, "There is no food," he explains, "because we have shot the black marketeers."

President Daniel arap Moi - Kenya, in Africa Report, Nov.-Dec. 1983, p. 10.

"Because of the greed and selfishness among some unpatriotic people who are entrusted with positions, it has proved very difficult to eliminate magendo [black market activities] and corruption in the country. Their activities have contributed to undermining our efforts to reconstruct our economy....In order to clean the system, I have therefore decided that all elected leaders, including myself, will seek fresh mandates from the electorate."

#### THE AFRIKANER:

Theodore Roosevelt, in a letter to Mr. W. Brodrick-Cloete, Apr 7, 1900 in England -- Munger Africana Library.

"I am myself of Dutch origin, although my people have been here for eight generations, and all I know of the Dutch language is one folk

song. Here as Governor I go to the old Dutch church which was attended 250 years ago by Peter Stuyvestant; the last Dutch Governor of the New Netherlands before it became New York. The great trek has always been to me one of the most romantic incidents in 19th century history. I have greatly deplored the South African war. I do hope it will come to a speedy end and that the two closely allied races may speedily become welded into one in South Africa as they have already been in North America."

Winston Spencer Churchill, London to Ladysmith, London: Longmans, 1900. p. 134.

What is the true and original root of Dutch aversion to British rule?...It is the abiding fear and hatred of the movement that seeks to place the native on a level with the white man. British government is associated in the Boer farmer's mind with violent social revolution. Black is to be proclaimed the same as white. The servant is to be raised against the master; the Kaffir is to be declared the brother of the European, to be constituted his legal equal, to be armed with political rights. The dominant race is to be deprived of their superiority; nor is a tigress robbed of her cubs more furious than is the Boer at this prospect."

Harry H. Johnston, The Story of My Life, Bobbs-Merrill, 1923, p. 95.

"In this the Dutch, though in race and language so like us, differed materially from our English way of looking at things: they were what the men of Hatton and Cookson, John Holt, and other Liverpool trading firms used to call 'continental.' They imported Negro women into their African homes without either hesitation or false shame; as did the French or Portuguese. Not so the English, from Liverpool, Bristol, London or Manchester. These last were most of them married at home, in England, and their lapses from continence in Africa, if they occurred, were furtive. If they became the fathers of children, one was told that they tendered shame-facedly some sort of 'compensation' to the mother and then tried to ignore the matter as much as possible. Whereas the Dutch, French, and Portuguese father brought up his half-caste child with care and kindness, and if it were a boy sent it either to some superior mission school for an education, or even to Europe."

President Harry S Truman, The Afrikaners, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1979.

"So you have been living among the Afrikaners. They must be a fine people. General Smuts and I started the United Nations together."

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Foreign Affairs, Jly 1958.

"The Afrikaans-speaking people have matured and found themselves in the past decade, casting off their long-standing bitterness and sense of inferiority. 'Those who think we can wait 50 or 100 years for a solution are living in a dream world,' Professor Olivier told the SABRA delegates."

## SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION:

Mrs. Daphne Wilson, South African Institute of Race Relations, Enrichment Programme's Bursary Fund, Star, SA, Jan 7, 1984.

"Clearly, when six-and-a-half times as much money is spent on a white pupil as on a black pupil, there will be a disparity in the respective pass rates. The recent appalling results in the African Senior Certificate pass rates stems partly from the vast disparities in lifestyles between whites and blacks, but also from disparities arising from the enforced departmental ethnic divisions in education in this country. They indicated the urgent need for a unified system of education."

Dr. Ken Hartshorne, USSALEP, Aug 5, 1983.

"In essence, the problems of black education in South Africa cannot be solved simply with more money or better facilities. The major issue, which is not being addressed by Government, remains the acceptability of the education system in which black children are educated and black teachers work. The legitimacy of the system is the fundamental stumbling block."

Dr. André du Toit, Stellenbosch U., SA, in a letter to Die Burger.

"The Afrikaans universities face crucial decisions on their role in society. They can choose to increasingly become bulwarks of exclusive sectional privilege. Or they can try to find ways of providing better service to a bigger and more heterogenous society."

Professor R. E. Van der Ross, Principal, the University of Western Cape, Sunday Times, SA, Jly 31, 1983.

"For myself as an educator, perhaps the worst of this was to see more than a generation of young people grow up bereft of political participation, devoid of first-hand knowledge of the workings of a parliamentary system, and unable to gain access to the machinery of power in their own country."

Elizabeth Purcell, former chair of Vassar College Board of Trustees, on USSALEP, Oct 24, 1981.

"USSALEP doesn't solve most problems it helps with discussion, but it creates conditions for many people and groups in which problems can be solved."

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOMELANDS ISSUE:

Phillip van Niekerk - Rand Daily Mail, SA, Nov 18, 1983.

"At 10 a.m. this morning, an entire community -- the Bakwena of Magopa, near Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal -- will be informed that they are to move from the land they have lived on and farmed for more than 70 years.... In a situation where blacks do not possess political rights or freedom of movement, there can be no talk about exercising a free choice about being removed."

Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Patron of the United Democratic Front, SA.

"We must accept the homelands policy, the sham independence of 'national states' for Africans and the dummy institutions which will be part and parcel of the new deal for the rest of us. No self-respecting American would even dream of accepting such an insult."

Spokesperson for U.S. State Department, Star, SA, Nov 29, 1983.

"The United States has consistently made clear its view that South Africa's problems cannot be addressed constructively but the arbitrary relocation of peoples on an ethnic or racial basis within South Africa. The SA Government is aware of our view that political progress within South Africa will continue to depend on a dialogue among all its citizens."

United Democratic Front, Sunday Tribune, SA, Aug 28, 1983

"We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the Government of our country. We stand for a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of bantustans and group areas."

#### SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS:

Dr. Jonas Savimbi, UNITA, Angola, US News & Wld. Rpt., Jun 13, 1983.

"We understand that the question of South Africa is an emotional issue. It is an emotional issue in Africa, an emotional issue in the black community, an emotional issue in the whole world. But we are fighting for our freedom. If no other country is willing to help us, then we have no option but to turn to the South Africans."

Mr. Chris Saunders, USSALEP Conference, Nov 4, 1983, SA.

"Of course, racial competition and prejudice are not unique to South Africa or, more particularly, to Natal/KwaZulu. As Professor Heribert Adam has so clearly pointed out, wherever people fight for access to scarce resources or, in turn defend privileges, they frequently seek out physical traits as badges for entry or marks for exclusion. Symbols of cultural heritage such as language, religion or origin, lend themselves to emotional mobilisation of laws everywhere in the world."

Aime Cesaire, Some African Poems in English, from "A Salute to the Third World," Munger Africana Notes - 62, Nov. 1981.

"Look: Africa is no longer a black heart scratched at by the diamond of misfortune. our Africa is a hand free of the cestus, it is a right hand, palm forward. the fingers held tight; it is a swollen hand, a wounded-open-hand, extended to all hands, brown, yellow, white, to all the wounded hands in the world."

# 1983 VOTE IN SOUTH AFRICA:

Helen Suzman, second reading of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill, May 18, 1983, Sunday Times, SA, Jun 19, 1983.

"This Bill does not reform. It deforms. It has divided the whites, the coloureds, and the Indians and the only people it has unified are the blacks. It has unified the blacks against the whites and against this Bill."

Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Patron of the United Democratic Front, SA.

"Reagan administration officials say the new constitution is a 'step in the right direction' because at least the Coloureds and Indians will have more than they have had before. Apart from the fact that this statement is simply not true, we must say this: the new constitution, as we have said a hundred times, entrenches apartheid, white minority rule and racism. That means we are being asked to accept something that has, as its very basis, the sub-human status of black people."

Dr. Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, SA, Sunday Express, SA, Nov 20, 1983.

"We should participate in the new constitution and do the best we can under the circumstances. Our commitment to genuine reform must outweigh our objections to the constitution."

Fleur de Villiers - Sunday Times, SA, Sep 11, 1983.

"After 35 years, South African moderates will have found a uniquely South African way of changing their government. Not by voting it out, but by voting it in -- and changing its constituency. It seems a pity that those who hated the old world are too frightened of paper tigers to explore -- and build -- the new."

## APARTHEID:

The Star, SA, Dec 23, 1983.

"No thinking South African will mourn the demise of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act, whenever it may come -- and the sooner the better. At the same time, we should all remember that this step will still leave us many steps behind the civilised world in terms of discrimination based on colour."

Brian Pottinger, Sunday Times, SA, Dec 4, 1983.

"The central business districts of South African cities and towns are likely to be opened to all races early next year. At present people of colour are prohibited by the Group Areas Act from trading in these areas."

Mr. Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Coloured Labour Party, SA.

"The Labour Party of South Africa believes in the effective participation of all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed, in all councils of the nation at all levels."

Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, SA.

"Black people and communities do participate in governmental functions -- some of the black leaders who vehemently oppose the new dispensation are heads of regional governments which afford their people a high degree of self-determination and which serve as platforms for high level consultation and negotiation with the central Government on virtually all matters of common interest."

Mr. Guenter Verheugen, West Germany, Rand Daily Mail, SA, Dec 2, 1983.

"He who supports this South African regime and its policies, he who considers the South Africa markets more important than the South African people, is guilty of complicity."

Richard West, Sunday Times, SA, Jly 3, 1983, p. 29.

"The white liberal South Africans are so obsessed by their own problem -- their guilt at the injustices done to their blacks -- that they take no interest in the problems of other countries, whether or not they involve race."

Tertius Myburgh, Sunday Times, SA, Jly 3, 1983, p. 29.

"Any kind of close association with the United States, it has been said, is like going to bed with an elephant. Every time the beast turns over, its bed partner is either crushed or, at best, grievously discommoded. South Africa, like every other country with Western ambitions, has striven mightily to get, if not actually into the sack, then at least into the same political bed chamber as successive Washington administrations. Mostly, however, we have found the door shut. For such is the nature of our domestic policies that, even if it had wished to do so for pragmatic reasons, no administration in about two decades has wanted to be seen keeping our company."

David Ndaba, spokesman for the ANC mission to the United Nations - The Christian Science Monitor, Nov 4, 1983.

"The U.S. is alone and out of step in this situation. It is detrimental to the understanding and relationship between the people of South Africa and the people of the United States.... The Americans can only interpret the South African situation through the view of the South Africa authorities, and that is bound to lead the United States to make the wrong conclusions."

Professor Robin W. Winks, Sunday Tribune, SA, Jly 3, 1983, p. 23.

"South Africa could drop off the end of the continent tomorrow and the United States would not particularly notice the fact. But what South Africa must realise is that black Africa is more important to the US. If it had to choose between South Africa and Nigeria, the US would select Nigeria."

Steve McDonald, Executive Director for USSALEP, Jan 31, 1982.

"Black and brown South Africa remains for the most part frustrated, suspicious, and despairing of their future. Efforts by the South African Government and even private industry to create, on the one hand, autonomous homelands and, on the other, to seek economic advancement for these groups within the delineated urban township system, seem to many to be attempts to co-opt blacks and browns into servants of an economic system of a unified South Africa with no commensurate political participation in that system. If these suspicions are justified, then much of black and brown South Africa will not ultimately accept this dispensation. If they are not, it is imperative that the lines of communication be kept open within the society to allay these fears. In either case, a flow of information and a continuing public debate by all sides seems essential to the previously mentioned ideal of a peaceful course of events."

Sir Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, SA, Sunday Express, Nov 20, 1983.

"I find it unthinkable that a minority will be able indefinitely to deprive the majority of its rightful say in running the country. And apartheid is not only morally abhorrent, it is in practical terms untenable and incompatible with dynamic economic policies. The question that we must face and that above all the people of the region must face, is how change is to come about."

Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, South Africa, addressing a UDF meeting, Star Dec 12, 1983.

"There are only human rights." At the meeting, Dr. Boesak said it was important that the people of Worcester, previously known as a Labour Party stronghold, let the people of South Africa know that they were not willing to "sell their birthright and their childrens' future for a mess of pottage brewed in the apartheid pot."

Mr. Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sunday Tribune, SA, Dec 18, 1983.

"We have got nothing against the South Africa people. The only hitch is the present regime. We do not agree with its racial policies. We abhor and condemn apartheid, and I'm sure in that we have the support of the whole of the civilised and Christian world....we hope the day will come when the SA regime will realise it is in their own long-term interests to treat the blacks as human beings."

Dr. Alan Paton, Star, SA, Jly 28, 1983.

"I find it impossible to forgive the National Party for its offences against humanity, but I do not hate the Afrikaner."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, interview with Mary Ellen Perez, Episcopal News, LA 1984.

"Q: Concerning the future of South Africa, is it possible for Afrikaners, blacks, coloureds, and Indians to live in interdependence, sharing power?

A: Most blacks desire a shared power. I would hope that would happen. Most blacks are working for a non-racial, truly democratic government; not a black-controlled government, but a majority government. However, arithmetically, the largest group would be black due to accidents of population composition. We are struggling for the freedom of our people, and people are defined by their humanity -- not by their biological characteristics."

Mr. David Curry, National Chairman of the Coloured Labour Party, 1983.

"You can truly put a label on us: 'Made in South Africa.'"

Dr. Willem Nicol, Chaplain, U. of Pretoria, Sunday Express, SA, Aug 28, 1983.

"The various races in this country need each other and are becoming intertwined with each other like fragile climbing plants. He who seeks to reverse this process with a harsh hand is like someone who cuts into human flesh with a knife."

Dr. Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Progressive Federal Party, SA, Sunday Express, SA, Aug 28, 1983.

"I would say that the Natal Midlands and the Natal English in the Midlands are as conservative and as racist as anything you pick up in the Northern Transvaal or in the Berge.

"I was trying to explain that there are English and Afrikaans racists."

Mr. Princeton Lyman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs -- U.S., Dec 2, 1982, in "United States Policy on Trade with South Africa."

"Apartheid is by no means the only system by which contemporary governments deny citizens freedom of speech and assembly -- the right to democratic participation in government and equality under the law. Government by and with the consent of the governed remains a rare commodity in our world. The principles of freedom, equality, democracy and the standards of human rights which so many endorse for South Africa are also utterly absent from the political practice of many other nations not similarly subject to either the scrutiny or sanctions applied to South Africa."

George Bush, Vice-President of the United States, Nov 19, 1982.

"We are determined to help turn the sad tide of growing conflict and tension in southern Africa."

Howard Wolpe, LA Times, Oct 13, 1983.

"In short, 'constructive engagement' has been an utter failure. It is clear that the options embraced but the Reagan Administration in hopes of alleviating a worsening situation in South Africa have in fact



merely made matters worse. Not only is there more upheaval and violence in the southern African region today, but now -- for the first time and as a direct consequence of 'constructive engagement' -- the United States has become directly implicated in these developments. We must understand the enormous damage that 'constructive engagement' has done to American interests. For in African eyes the United States is now viewed as colluding with the South African government in delaying Namibia's independence, in fostering regional instability and in preserving the abhorrent system of apartheid."

#### REVOLUTIONS:

Kwame Nkumrah, Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare International Publishers, 1968.

"...imperialism usually resorts to all types of propaganda in order to highlight and exploit differences of religion, culture, race, outlook, and of political ideology among the oppressed masses, or between regions which share a long history of mutual commercial and cultural exchange."

Fidel Castro, SAF Position Paper Vol. 6, 1983 No.11/12

"Whatever the Imperialists may undertake, they have already lost the battle for southern Africa."

Western diplomat recently back from Zimbabwe - quoted in The Christian Science Monitor, Nov 29, 1983.

"You have to realize this government is not a government. It is a coalition, a collection of revolutionary leaders."

British Labor Party, ERG Newsletter, Apr 1983.

"Ethiopia has 'violated the rights of the Eritrean people.'"

President Julius Nyerere, Tanzania, Time Jan 16 1984.

"The IMF is a device by which powerful countries increase their power over poor nations."

Dr. Jusef Lule, former Ugandan President, Munger Africana Notes, Nov 1982.

"Once I got to Uganda, I shuffled my cabinet and brought in better people. In the 69 days, I tried to rectify the mistakes. For example, one of the roots of trouble in Uganda has been the recruitment of the army from only a few ethnic groups. The British had started this for their own reasons. But as soon as I was the President in Uganda, I ordered the recruitment of soldiers from all elements of the population to make it a national army. Nyerere and Obote immediately saw that their plan to seize power after a year might be thwarted. From that moment on Nyerere withdrew from me the support of the Tanzanian troops that controlled the country."

Captain Thomas Sankara, Upper Volta, Los Angeles Times, Dec 9, 1983.

"...the sense of the revolution -- changing the mentality of the Upper Voltan people, so that they no longer wait for assistance from the outside. This way they realize the fruits of their own labor.... In addition, we don't want our people to align themselves against the people of any other country."

Times, London, 1984.

"The history of military coups in Nigeria and elsewhere shows that power corrupts soldiers as fast as it corrupts civilians."

Mohammed Buhari, Major General, Nigeria, 1984.

"The armed forces could not stand idly by while the country was drifting toward a dangerous state of political and economic collapse."

Shagu Shagari, 1979 Nigerian leader. Time Jan 16, 1984.

"In this country there are, in the end, only two parties, the civilians and the soldiers."

Mr. Hans Rohr - NCDP (Namibia Christian Democratic Party) told to Dr. van Niekerk - Rand Daily Mail, SA, Nov 29, 1983.

"You are aware of the fact that the NCDP members condemn violence and bloodshed. It has already been proved to you and to the whole country that we only stand for democratic and Christian changes to your present repressive system."

Leon Dash, Washington Post Correspondent Foreign Service, The Star Review, Saturday, Dec 17, 1983.

"The 'Pearl of Africa' (Uganda) has lost its lustre as the violent three-year civil war which followed a return to civilian rule after Amin's bloody reign continues to rot the legal, political and civil institutions."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi - Star, SA, Dec 5, 1983.

"In order to avoid a tragic escalation of violence in this country I will have to employ every means at my disposal to bring about real reform before it is too late....I exercise my leadership in a democratic idiom and I am predicting that these principles in my leadership will perforce involve me in strategies and tactics which I have hitherto not employed. History will prove me right or wrong, but I predict that Africans will demand the employment of boycott and strike weapons which will emerge as irresistible forces in the land. If this is what my people want, then I walk that road with them."

#### AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

Mr. Keith Campbell, International Politics lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand, SA, The Star Review, Saturday, Dec 17, 1983.

"More than twenty years of external propaganda and internal

effort have produced no significant impact on either foreign public opinion or the internal order of South Africa. The ANC will seek to become more active in this country; they will strive to give the impression that they are far stronger than they really are; but they will be easily constrained provided that the national response and public reaction are appropriate. If they are, then terrorism, on its own, poses no threat to South Africa; it will have no prospects in this country."

The Honourable Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Jan 24, 1983.

"We take note of, and applaud, the successful strides which are being made by the ANC, PAC and the South African masses in intensifying their fight for the establishment of democracy in the country."

Kendal Price, ICWA (Institute of Current World Affairs) Newsletter, Sep 9, 1983.

"Violence may escalate in South Africa in the coming years, but not necessarily because the blacks have become any more disenchanted and the ANC stronger. Bloodshed may increase because Pretoria has discovered via the Maseru raid a method by which it can kill large numbers of ANC members or sympathizers anywhere in southern Africa and justify it as an act of self defense."

SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization):

Nic Bessinger, SWAPO, Namibia, The Windhoek Adv., Aug 26, 1983.

"He said SWAPO would remain the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia until proved otherwise in free and fair elections."

Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, SA, Sunday Express, Jan 8, 1984.

"The Angolan government, which has not been elected by the people of Angola, is deliberately following a policy of aggression against neighbouring states which do not share their Marxist ideology. They allow an organisation like SWAPO, which is openly and directly supported by Moscow, to operate from their territory and launch attacks on SWA/Namibia. It is now more apparent than ever that not only is SWA/Namibia the target of Moscow but South Africa itself is."

General Constand Viljoen, Rand Daily Mail Dec 28, 1983.

"...said Angolan and Cuban forces were 'increasingly interfering' in South African military operations in Angola. 'We don't like becoming involved with (Angolan Government) and Cuban Forces and would rather respect them in their areas and expect them to respect our fight against SWAPO.'"

Sam Nujoma, SWAPO -- SAF Position Paper Vol. 6, 1983 No. 11/12

"Cuba is a revolutionary example. The Cuban revolution is our

revolution, it is the revolution of the suppressed peoples."

Henry Witbooi - SWAPO Vice President in Namibia - Sunday Tribune, Dec 11, 1983.

"I know that the majority of Namibians support SWAPO. That is why it sounds childish to us when the Government says that all SWAPO does is kill innocent people and abduct children. SWAPO must work for the people of Namibia all the time. But that doesn't mean it must commit suicide by taking a more aggressive role inside Namibia. SWAPO is not interested in child's play. It is a liberation movement fighting for independence."

\*\*\*

Archie Gumedde, Leader of the United Democratic Front, SA, Sunday Tribune, Aug 28, 1983

"Even as the sun and the rain are shared by all equally, I believe that God's gifts to mankind should be shared by all."

# Alphabetical list of those quoted

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 Chaka, Venance  
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 Clay, Jason  
 Coeho, Jorge  
 Crocker, Chester  
 Curry, David  
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 de Villiers, Fleur  
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 Lule, Dr. Josef  
 Lyman, Princeton  
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 Majer, Dr. Kenneth  
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 Munger, Dr. Edwin S.  
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 Paton, Dr. Alan

Pottinger, Brian  
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 Smiley, Ian  
 Suzman, Helen  
 Truman, Harry S  
 Tutu, Desmond  
 van der Ross, R. E.  
 van Niekerk, Phillip  
 van Zyl Slabbert, Dr. Fredrik  
 Verheugen, Guenter  
 Viljoen, Gen. Constand  
 Welles, Orson  
 West, Richard  
 Wilson, Mrs. Daphne  
 Winks, Robin  
 Witbooi, Henry  
 Wolpe, Howard  
 Worth, Steve

## GLOSSARY

ANC - African National Congress  
 CLP - Coloured Labour Party, South Africa  
 ERC - Eritrean Revolutionary Council  
Foreign Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, NY  
 ICWA - Institute for Current World Affairs, Hanover, New Hampshire  
Margaret Africans Library Notes, publication in Pasadena, CA  
 NCDF - National Christian Democratic Party  
 NUM - National Union of Mineworkers  
 OAU - Organization for African Unity  
 PAC - Pan African Congress  
 PFP - Progressive Federal Party - South Africa  
 SABRA - South African Bureau of Racial Affairs  
 SAF - South African Foundation  
 SAIRR - South Africa Institute for Race Relations  
 SWAPO - South West Africa People's Organization  
 UDF - United Democratic Front, South African political party  
 UNITA - Opposition to Angolan government, led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi  
 Urban Foundation - South Africa  
 USSALEP - United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program,  
 Washington, D. C. and Johannesburg, South Africa

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